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The Effect of factional fighting on Syrian women in opposition-controlled areas

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Executive Summary

Despite the decrease in the pace of military operations in Syria, the areas under the control of the Syrian opposition are still unstable in terms of security. The recent factional fighting in October 2022 showed the fragility of implementing UN Resolution 1325, which stipulates in one of its articles that the parties to armed conflict must uphold international law applicable to civilians, especially women and children.

This factional fighting erupted against the backdrop of the assassination of an activist and his wife, as investigations revealed the involvement of some military factions, and after the attempt to arrest the implicated cell, events escalated rapidly and broadly and spread to various regions of Northern Syria under Turkish supervision, especially after the entry of Hay'at Tahrir al-Sham (HTS) into an alliance that includes one of the factions accused of the assassination.

The report's findings, which were based on a survey of a group of women living in the conflict zones, showed that they were impacted by the fighting, as the parties to the conflict did not hesitate to use medium and heavy weapons in addition to light weapons, resulting in civilian casualties and injuries.

The effects of this fighting on women included a strengthened sense of instability, anxiety, and insecurity, as well as inciting traumatic memories in most of them, which may impact their psychological health, especially with the periodic resurgence of factional violence in many places. The clashes also denied citizens, particularly women, of movement and access to educational or job facilities, and sometimes resulted in a shortage of access to medical requirements, utilities, water, and electricity.

The respondents believed that removing military headquarters outside of cities, preventing them from meddling in civil administration, and putting an end to the factional situation are among the most crucial priorities that should be put into practice in the region. They also believed that it is impossible to improve the state of security and stability in the region without achieving justice and accountability and holding everyone accountable for abuses.

The report made a number of recommendations, including the need to include women in a comprehensive planning process aimed at strengthening governance principles, supporting



stability, resolving existing problems, developing a contingency plan in which all civil parties participate, and removing military headquarters from cities.

It is necessary to work on creating a map of active and influential women, identifying available experiences and skills, and conducting research that explores women's opinions and points of view in the civil administration process, monitors their needs, and contributes to their involvement in developing programmes and plans, with the results of these studies communicated to the region's actors and stakeholders.



Introduction

Despite the decrease in the pace of military operations in Syria, the areas under the control of the Syrian opposition are still unstable on the security side, whether those located in the Idlib governorate, which are under the control of Hay'at Tahrir al-Sham - HTS, or the areas in the countryside of Aleppo that are under the control of the National Army factions and under Turkish supervision, which are known as the Euphrates Shield, Olive Branch and Peace Spring areas.

As the area gets exposed to periodic bombardment originating from outside the region, whether it is from the areas controlled by the Syrian Democratic Forces - SDF or the Russian bombardment, mainly targeting civilians. Moreover, the area is full of many unusual security incidents such as trapped cars, assassinations and factional fighting.¹

The recent incident of factional fighting, that erupted after the assassination of one of the activists and lasted for nearly a week between 10/10/2022 - 10/19/2022, was one of the most violent incidents as its scope and pace expanded and accelerated unexpectedly and posed a serious danger to civilians in the area, especially women and children.

This report aims at highlighting the impact of factional fighting on women in particular, especially as it is one of the recurring problems in the region that destabilizes its stability and threatens the security of its residents. The report also aims at monitoring the implementation of UN Resolution no. 1325, adopted unanimously on October 31, 2000, on women, peace and security, which stipulates in one of its articles the need for parties to armed conflict to respect international law applicable to the rights of women and girls, to protect them as civilians, and to respect the civilian and humanitarian nature of refugee and displaced camps and settlements, taking into account the special needs of women and girls.²

The report relied on the descriptive analytical approach which relied on published articles and reports as secondary data and on the results of an electronic questionnaire as primary data. The

¹ The Syrian Dialogue Center documented, between 1/1/2021 - 30/4/2022, 397 security incidents during the observed period in the areas of Turkish supervision, which resulted in the death of 224 people and the injury of at least 416 others. This includes 55 bombing incidents targeting the area, 41 assassinations, mostly targeting civilian activists, 43 cases of internal fighting between factions, where the report considered that the real numbers may be greater than the observed due to the difficulty of tracking some news and keeping some of them secret.

Source: [The security situation in northern Syria, the Syrian Dialogue Center](#) Published on: 17/05/2022.

² [United Nations Security Council Resolution No. 1325](#) issued in 2000.



sample was chosen according to the snowball principle as it was distributed among women residing in the targeted areas then they were asked to pass the questionnaire to other women who live in the same area and then it was statistically analyzed and the abnormal results were excluded.

In its first part, the report reviews the circumstances that accompanied the development of the problem from the prosecution of those involved in an assassination crime whom scope was expended and turned into factional fighting. Then, in its second part, the report will review the impact of this fighting on civilians, especially women, and then the report will conclude with some findings and recommendations.

How did the events develop from the prosecution of a judicial crime to the factional fighting?

The problem started after an assassination incident that targeted the activist Muhammad Ghanoum and his pregnant wife. He was one of the prominent activists who demand more freedoms and participate in organizing vigils and strikes. Unidentified persons shot him and his wife directly and this led to their immediate death. The assassination accident resulted in a state of popular discontent and this was translated into a call for a general strike and demonstrations demanding an end to the state of lawlessness and the accountability of security officials due to the deteriorating security situation, the spread of crime, and the large number of assassinations and attacks that affect civilians.³

The surveillance cameras were able to discover those involved and it was found that the assassination cell that is consisted of three people, works with the security detachment of the "Hamza Division" in the National Army located in the Agriculture Building in the city of Al-Bab. After that, forces affiliated with the Levant Front and the Third Corps arrested those involved and broadcast the confessions of one of the individuals who indicated that he had received direct orders from a leader to monitor the activist and then assassinate him despite the presence of his wife with him.⁴

These confessions increased the level of tensions especially with the Hamzah Division's attempt to deny its involvement, and then the attempt to release some detainees by force, which

³ [A general strike in the city of al-Bab in conjunction with the funeral of "Abu Ghannoum"](#), Syria TV, published October 8, 2022.

⁴ [The Third Corps broadcasts the confessions of the assassination cell of Muhammad Abu Ghannoum](#), Syria TV, published October 11, 2022



prompted the Levant Front to take control of the headquarters and camps of the “Hamza Division” faction, such as the headquarters of the Military College and its “Zaraa” prison, in a move that was considered an attempt to dismantle this faction which was famous for its notoriety and its violations. However, this escalation turned into a military confrontation when the Hamzah Division responded by bombing the city of Al-Bab with mortars and heavy machine guns.⁵

As a result for this escalation, two conflicting axes were formed, the first under the name of the Third Legion, which includes the Levant Front and Jaish al-Islam, which is trying to control security by ending one of the factions involved in many violations, and another axis that included both the Hamzah Division involved in the assassination and the well-known Suleiman Shah faction, known of the name of "Al-Amshat", both of which are from the factions close to Turkey, as well as Hay'at Tahrir Al-Sham "HTS" - formerly the Al-Nusra Front - which entered the front line and brought in large military crowds from its areas of influence in Idlib. The HTS took its forces to the Ghazn al-Zaytoun (Olive Branch) area in support of the Hamzah and Sultan Shah divisions, which had an ideological dispute with them, accusing them of corruption, theft and supervising smuggling operations earlier, as HTS claimed that its entry came to control the area security and unify institutions.⁶

The attempt of the Third Legion to move in this file received a lot of popular support, especially with the emergence of popular statements and announcements indicating the need to end the state of security chaos. Moreover, the entry of HTS to the front line sparked a lot of popular discontent, so many demonstrations took place for consecutive days and banners were raised asking HTS not to enter or remain in the area. The civilians blocked roads with burning tires and earth mounds. This popular scene was repeated despite the continuation of the clashes for several days, as the popular movement played a major role in directing events and pressing for the disposal of HTS from the area.⁷

The fighting continued for several days and its scope expanded widely. Many losses occurred between civilians and soldiers, and the Hamzat-HTS alliance was able to control Afrin and

⁵ [A movement to dismantle "Al-Hamzat"... An introduction to controlling security in northern Syria?](#), Al-Araby Al-Jadeed, published 10/12/2022

⁶ [A battle of revolution without influence... "What are the justifications for the two sides of the fighting in northern Syria"](#), Enab Baladi, published 10/12/2022.

⁷ [The popular movement in northern Syria confuses the accounts of "Tahrir al-Sham"](#), Al-Araby Al-Jadeed, publication date 10/18/2022.



Kafr Jannah, but this alliance failed to storm the city of Azaz, the stronghold of the Third Legion. The clashes did not result in resolving the conflict in favor of one party. This continued until the Turkish forces intervened with a military convoy and supervised the implementation of a ceasefire agreement requiring the two parties to withdraw to their main positions and hand over the checkpoints and headquarters they had seized to the Revolutionary Council for Liberation,⁸ after the failure of previous agreements that indicated a clear desire by HTS to exploit the event and swallow the area and put it under its military and economic influence.⁹

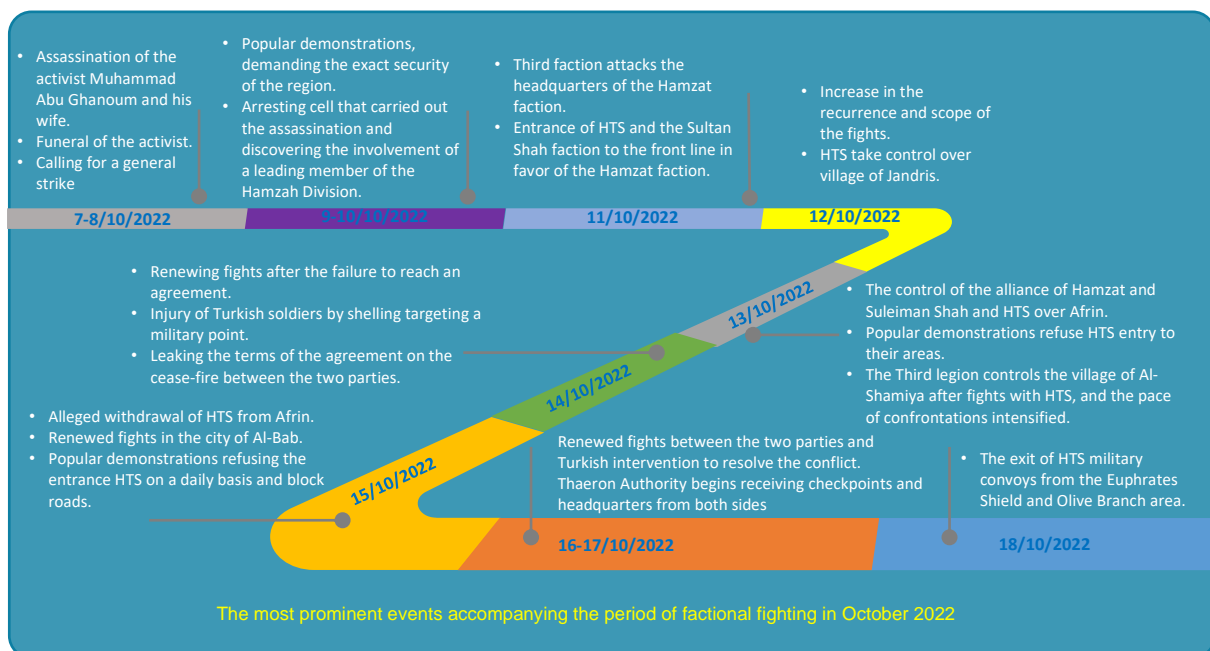


Figure: Stages of the development of the internal fighting between the factions in October 2022.

The fighting resulted in the death of 8 civilians, including two women and a child, and the injury of 47 others, including 7 women and 11 children, as the fighting indirectly targeted 12 camps and damaged more than 58 tents, including partial and complete damage, and led to the displacement of approximately 7,300 people from the residents of these camps as well as families that live in cities and towns.¹⁰

⁸ [The Turkish army gives a deadline for "Tahrir al-Sham" to withdraw from the premises of Azaz, north of Aleppo, Al-Araby Al-Jadeed](#), publication date 10/17/2022.

⁹ [The story in detail.. What does the "Al-Julani" and "Abu Yassin" agreement mean in the countryside of Aleppo?](#) Al-Souria Net, published 10/15/2022.

¹⁰ [The outcome of the violations documented by the Syria Response Coordinators](#), the Syria Response Coordinators page, published on 10/18/2022.



The repercussions of internal factional fighting on women

The security and military tensions primarily affected civilians whose number is estimated at about 1.5 million, most of whom are displaced and forcibly displaced, and who have experienced displacement several times. However, these effects may be greater on women and children who account for 70% of the camp population in Region.¹¹

In an attempt to explore these repercussions, the results of an electronic questionnaire were analyzed after distributing it to 84 women residing in the northern Syrian regions under Turkish supervision during the period in which armed confrontations erupted. About the characteristics of the sample surveyed, and with regard to the social situation, the results of the analysis showed that 21% of the population of the respondents were single, 69% were married, and 10% were divorced (Figure 2), while 51% of the sample were under the age of 30 and 31% were between 31-40 years and 18% were older than 40 years (Figure 3).

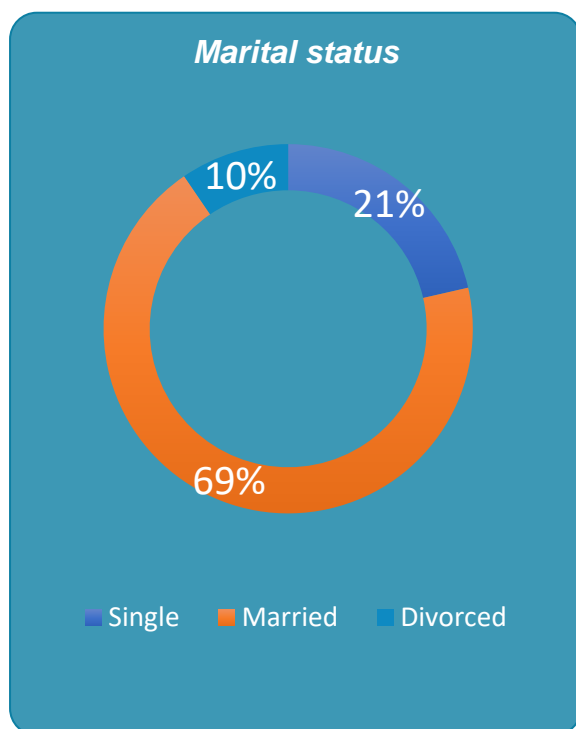
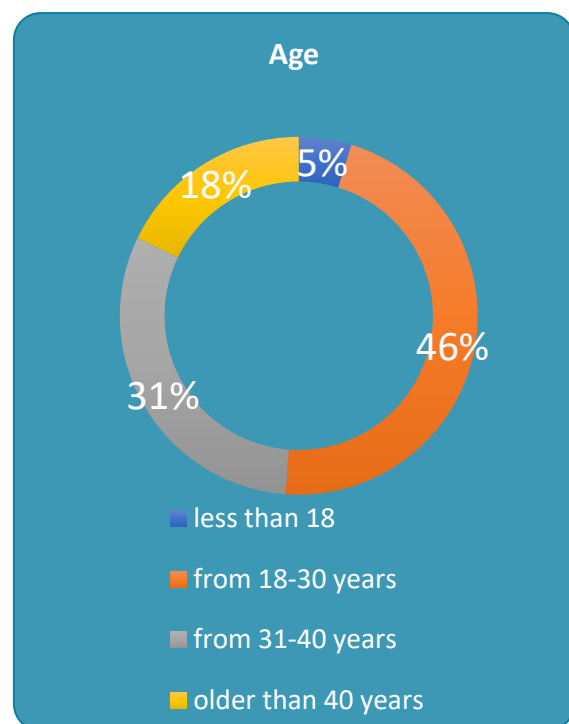


Figure 2 marital status of the sample



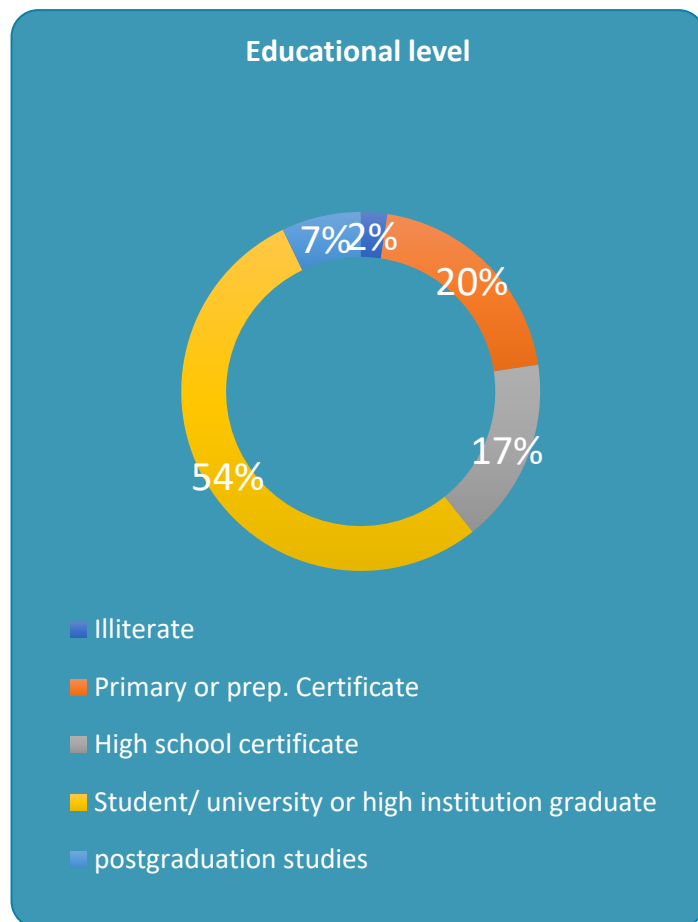
3figure: Age group of the segment

¹¹ Without curtains.. without protection..

[The hidden side of women's lives in the camps](#), the Syrian Dialogue Center, publication date 12/31/2021



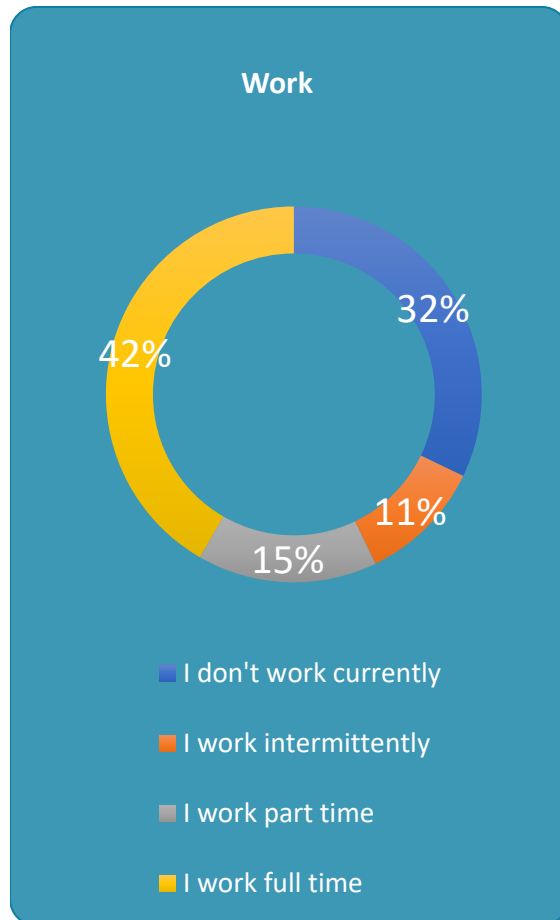
As for the educational status of the surveyed segment, the results showed that 22% of this segment were holders of a preparatory certificate or lower certificate, 17% with a secondary certificate, and 61% of this segment were holders of a university degree, including 7% of academics who are holders of postgraduate university degrees (Figure 4).



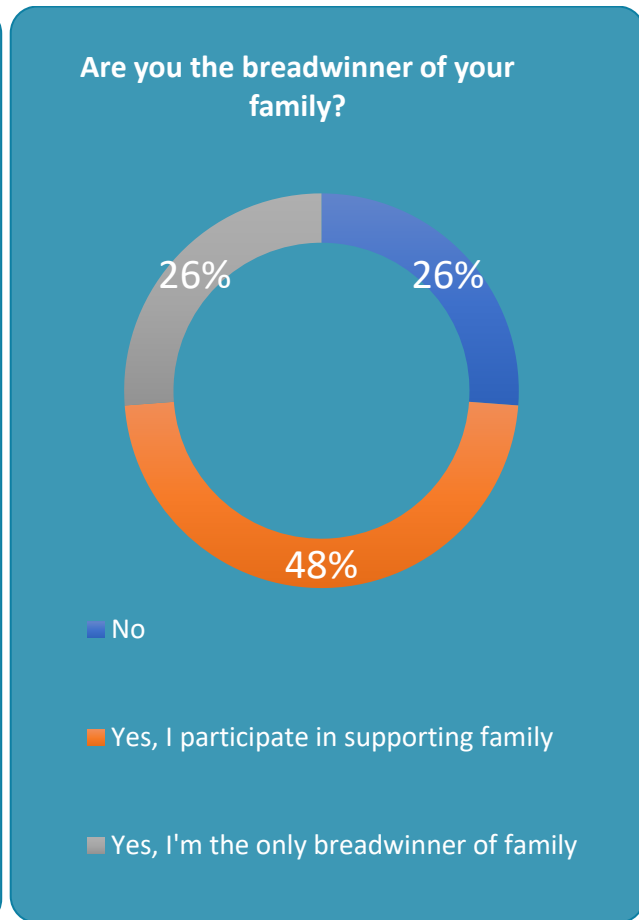
4figure: Educational status of the sample

Regarding the work situation of the surveyed segment, 32% of this segment indicated that they are not working, while 11% of them indicated that they work intermittently, 15% indicated that they work part-time, while 42% were working full-time (Figure 5). On the other hand, 26% of the respondents indicated that they are the sole breadwinners of the family, while 48% of them participate in work to support the family, while 26% indicated that they are not working (Figure 6).





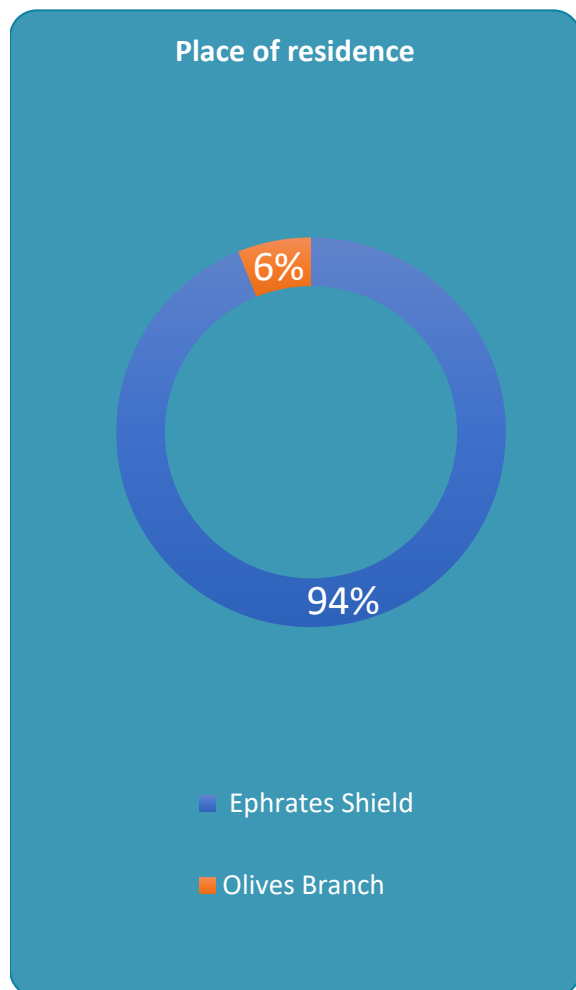
5figure: Work situation of the segment



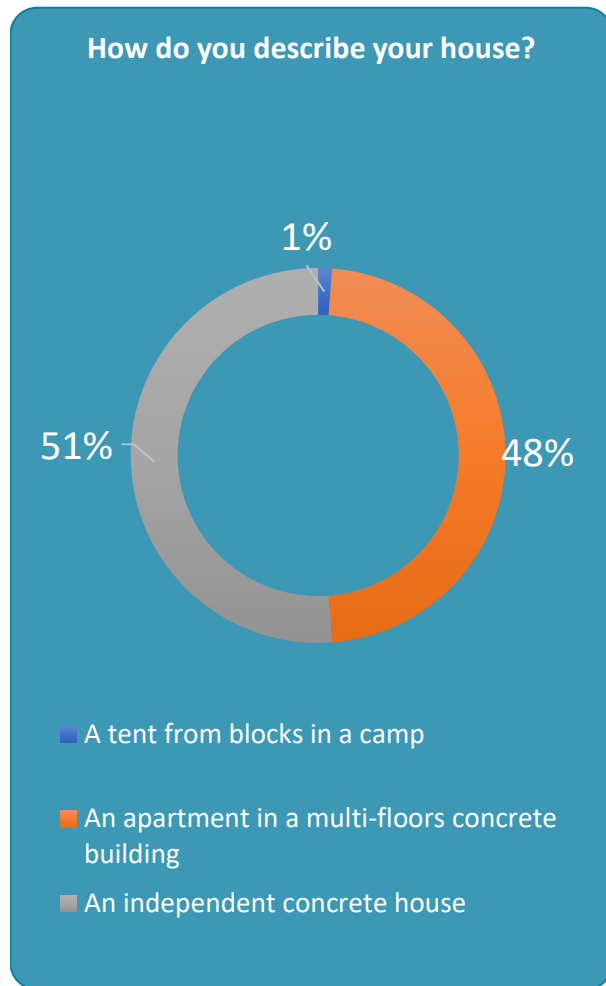
6figure: Participation in supporting the family

Regarding the place of residence, most of the answers came from the Euphrates Shield area with a percentage of 94%, especially the areas of Al-Bab, Bza'a and Azaz, which are the areas that witnessed the heaviest tensions, while the rest of the answers, which amounted to 6%, were concentrated in the Olive Branch area, especially Afrin (Figure 7), and 48% of the sample indicated that they live in an apartment in a concrete building consisting of several apartments, while 51% live in a separate concrete house (Figure 8), and this indicates that the target group lived in cities and towns and not within the camps, meaning that their situation is considered the best in terms of the quality of the shelter in which they reside.





7figure: Sample place of residence



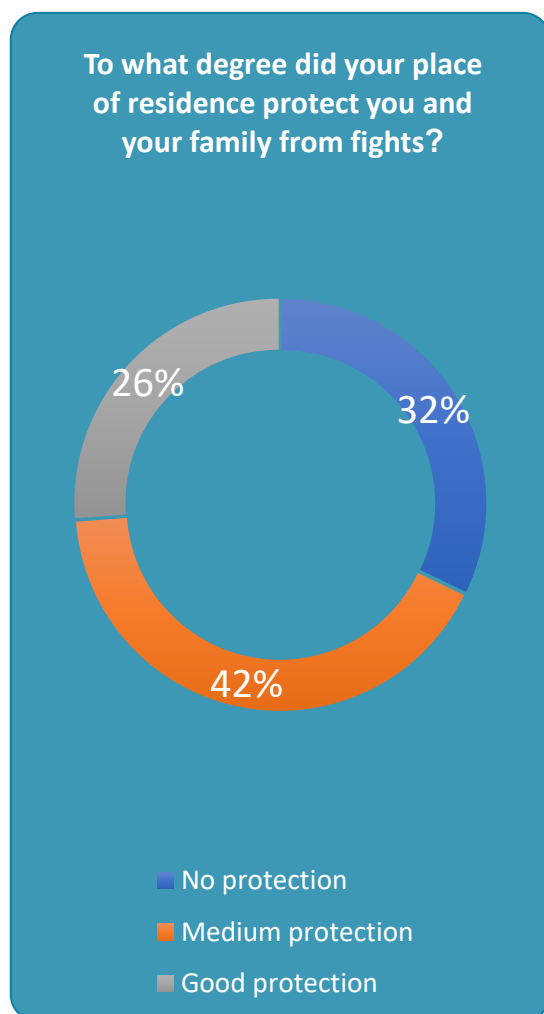
8figure: Shape of residence

Regarding the degree of housing security during the fights, 26% of the responses indicated that the housing provided good protection, while 42% of the responses indicated that the housing provided protection in an average manner, while 32% considered that the housing did not provide the required protection (Figure 9). This can be explained by the fact that many families who reside in cities or towns have been forced to live or rent unfinished houses, or under construction houses, or live in non-habitable places that have been converted into residential homes such as shops or animal pens as a result of the high demand for housing after the increase of forced displacement, and thus many homes lack windows or even doors as they were replaced and covered with nylon or thicker fabrics, and thus these windows were not able to isolate sounds or protect from splinters or dust.

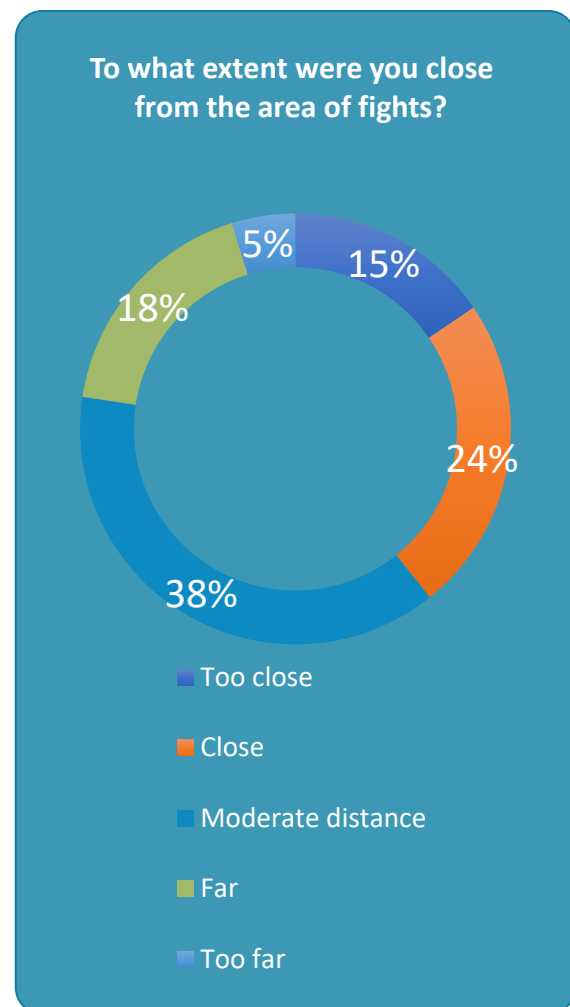


In addition, unlicensed buildings spread years ago in rural governorates. These buildings were not built according to engineering standards, as these houses were built of cement blocks only (independent houses) without the presence of reinforced concrete elements supporting such as columns and reinforced walls, and therefore these houses lacked required durability and the stiffness.

Returning to the results of the questionnaire, 39% of the answers indicated that they were close to the areas of fights, while 38% of the answers indicated that they were at a medium distance from the fights, while 23% of them indicated that they were far from the areas of fights (Figure 10).



9figure: Protection level provided by the residence

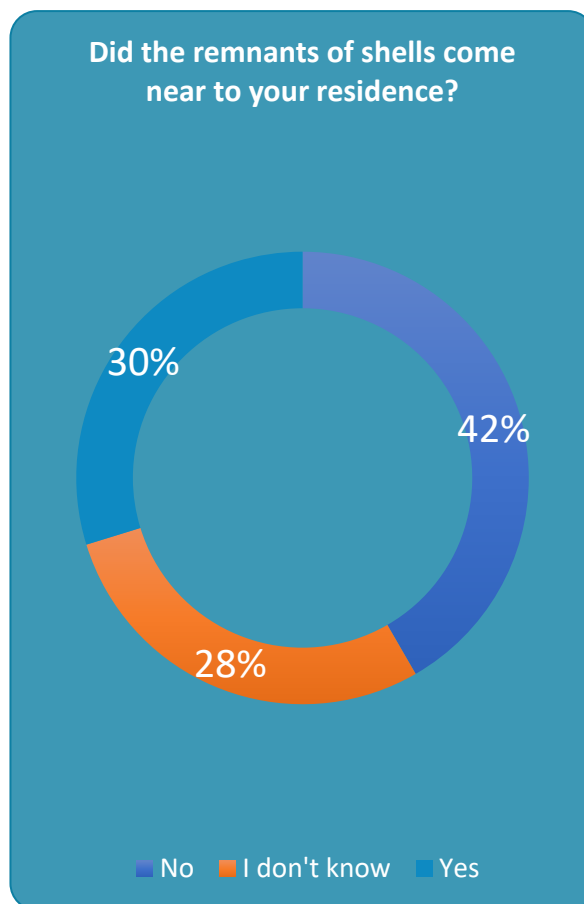


10figure: Proximity from the fights

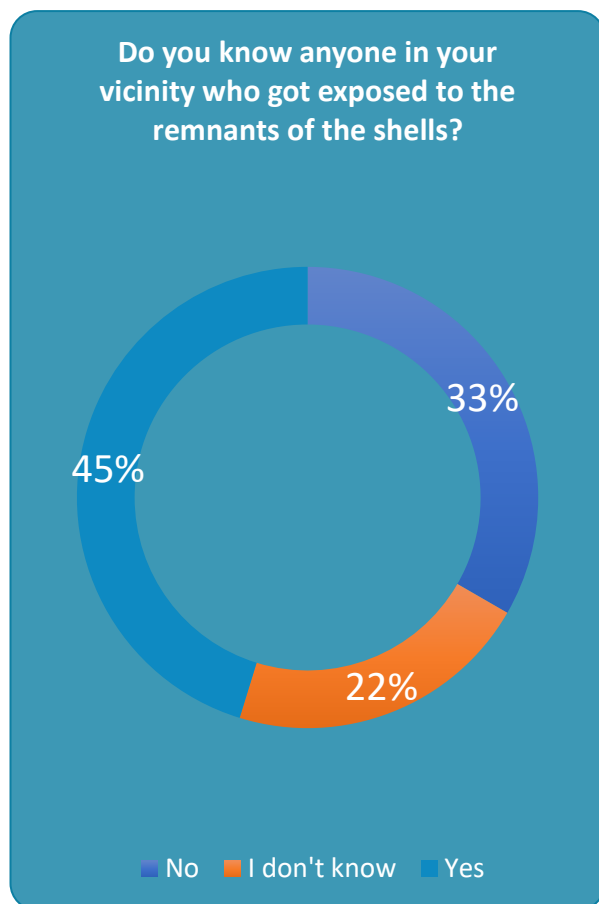


Regarding the degree to which they were affected by the remnants of the missiles used during the fights, 30% of the answers indicated that the remnants of the missiles reached the vicinity of their residence, while 42% of the answers indicated that the remnants of the missiles did not reach the vicinity of their residence, while 28% of the sample answered that they did not know the situation outside their home (Figure 11).

In the same context, 45% of the answers indicated that the remnants of the missiles reached the surroundings of their acquaintances' residence, while 43% of the answers indicated that the remnants of the missiles did not reach the surroundings of their acquaintances' residence, while 2% of the sample answered that they did not know the situation outside their home (Figure 12).



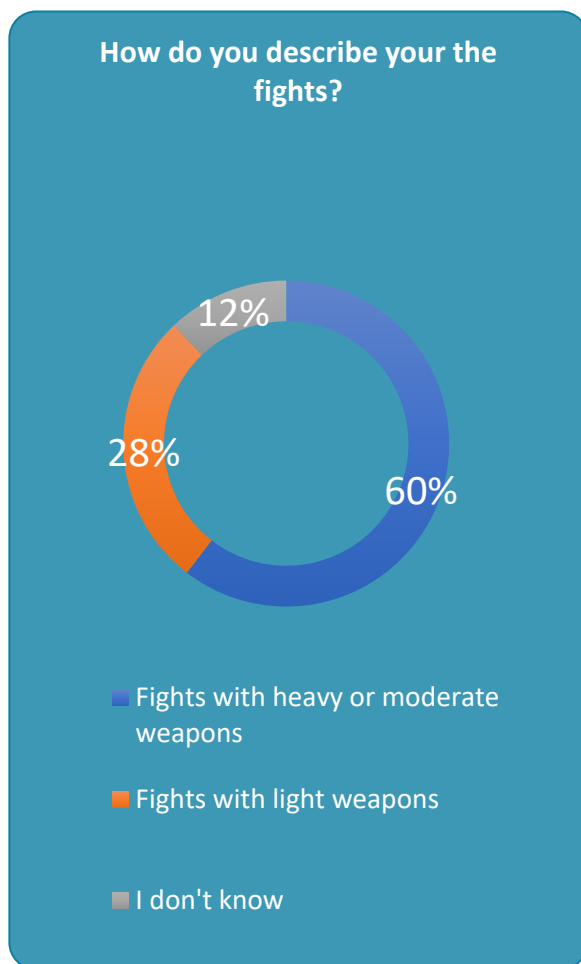
11figure: Missiles approaching the vicinity of the residence



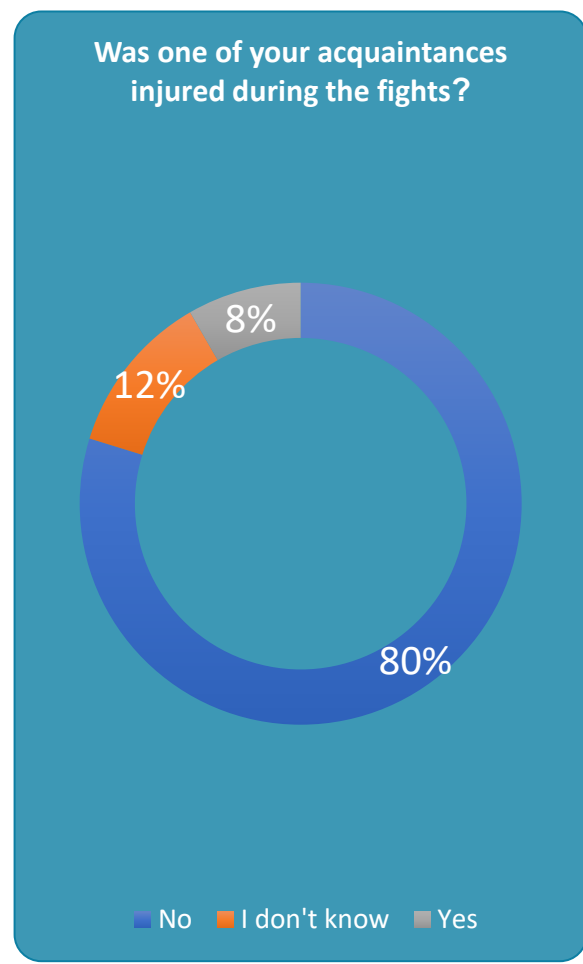
12figure: Fights approaching the vicinity of the residence



Regarding the intensity of the fights, 60% of the responses indicated that the fights were with heavy and medium weapons, while 28% of the answers indicated that the fights in their vicinity were with light weapons, while 12% of the answers could not describe the type of weapons used (Figure 13). The results indicated that there were no injuries among the family of the sample surveyed, while 8% of the answers indicated that there were injuries among acquaintances as a result of the fights (Figure 14).



13figure: Intensity of the fights



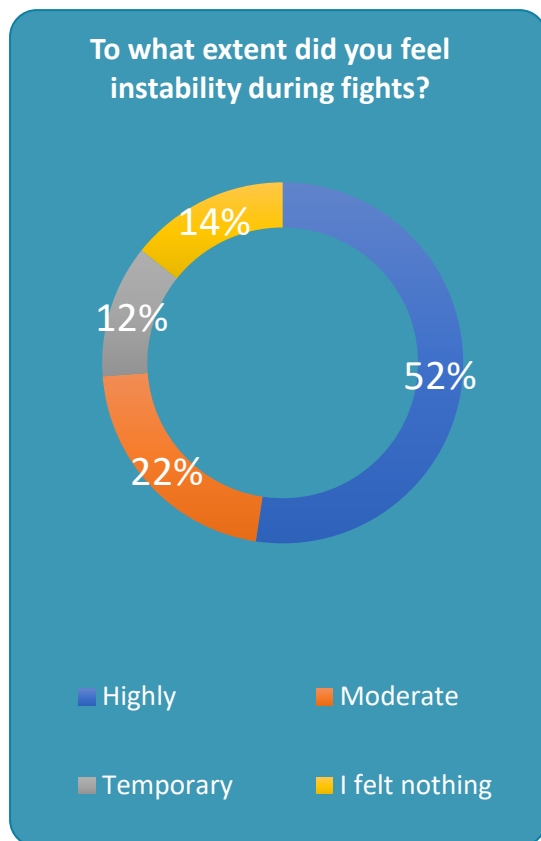
14figure: Human injuries because of the fights

These factional fights aroused a lot of painful feelings and memories, as 52% of the answers expressed a renewed sense of instability to a great extent, while 22% of the answers indicated that their feeling of instability was moderate, and 12% indicated that the state of instability was

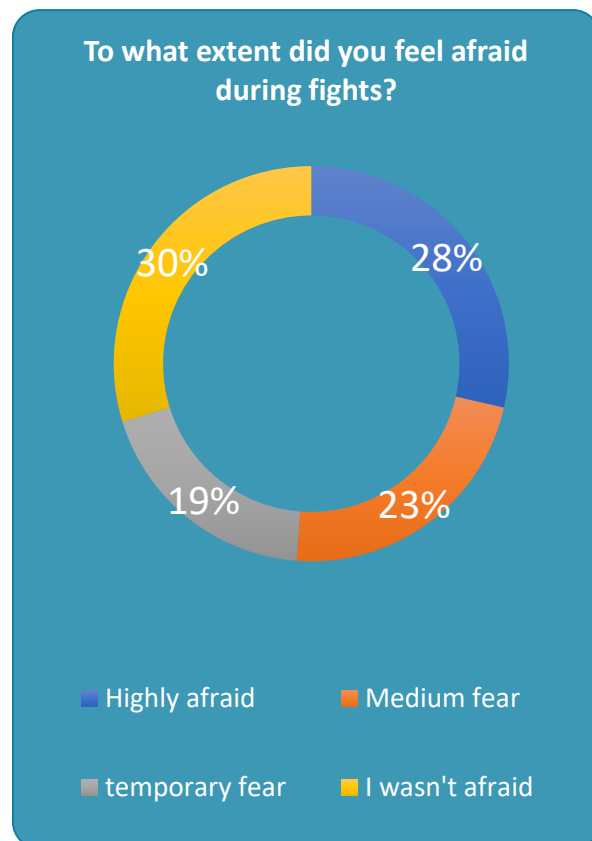


temporary, while 14% of the respondents expressed that they did not feel any feelings, as they were used to renewed fights every while (Figure 15).

As for feelings of fear, the results indicate that these factional fights increased fear feelings in 28% of the sample significantly, while 23% of the answers indicated that they felt moderately afraid, 19% indicated that they felt fear temporarily, while 30% indicated from their answers to their lack of fear (Fig. 16).



15figure: Instability feelings resulted from the fights

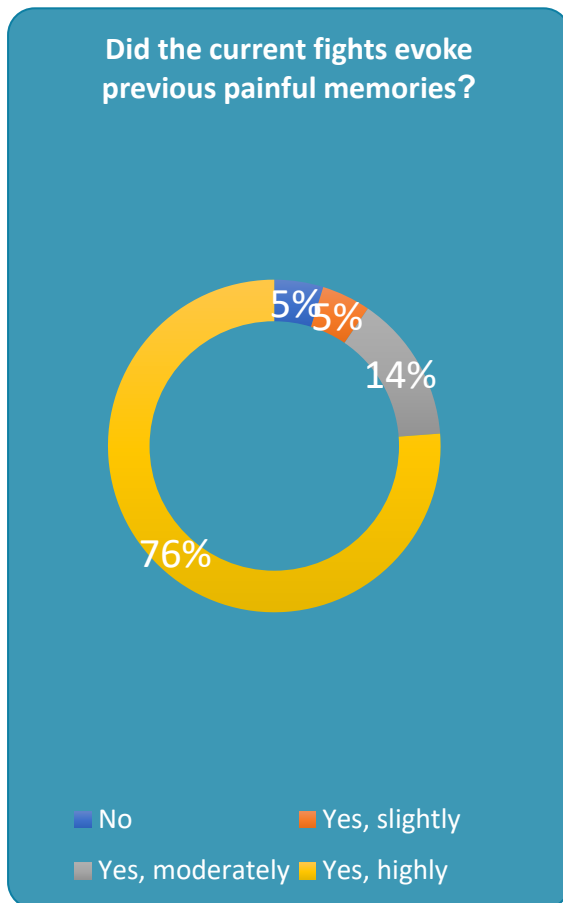


16figure: Fear feelings resulted from the fights

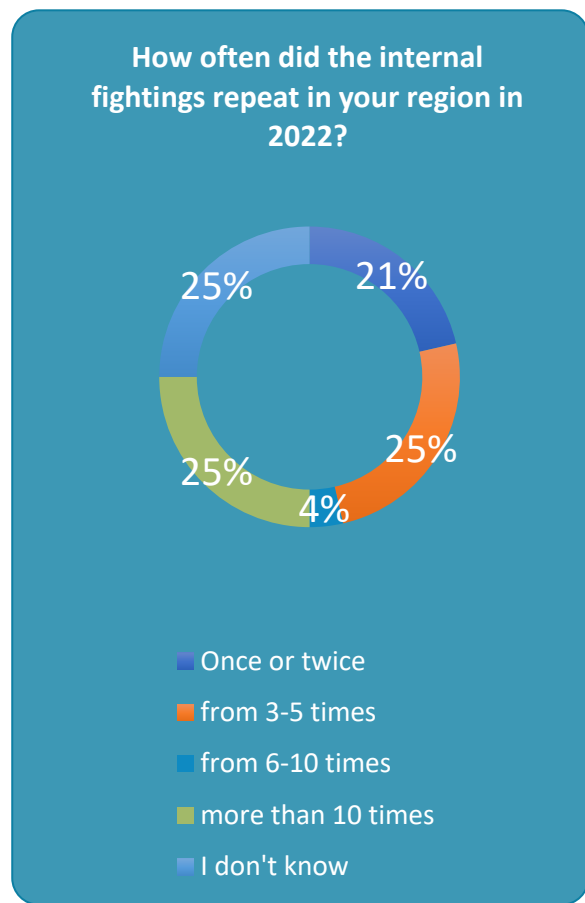
Additionally, 76% of the answers indicated that these factional fights have greatly aroused their previous painful memories, while 14% indicated that they raised some painful memories, while 5% of the answers considered that these fights did not evoke any memories due to their recurrence (Fig. 17).



Moreover, 21% of the answers indicated that these fights were repeated once or twice in their area this year, while 25% of the sample answered that these fights were repeated in their area between 3-5 times, and 4% indicated that they were repeated 6-10 times, 25% answered that the fights were repeated more than 10 times (Fig. 18)



17figure: Effect of the fights in evoking painful memories.

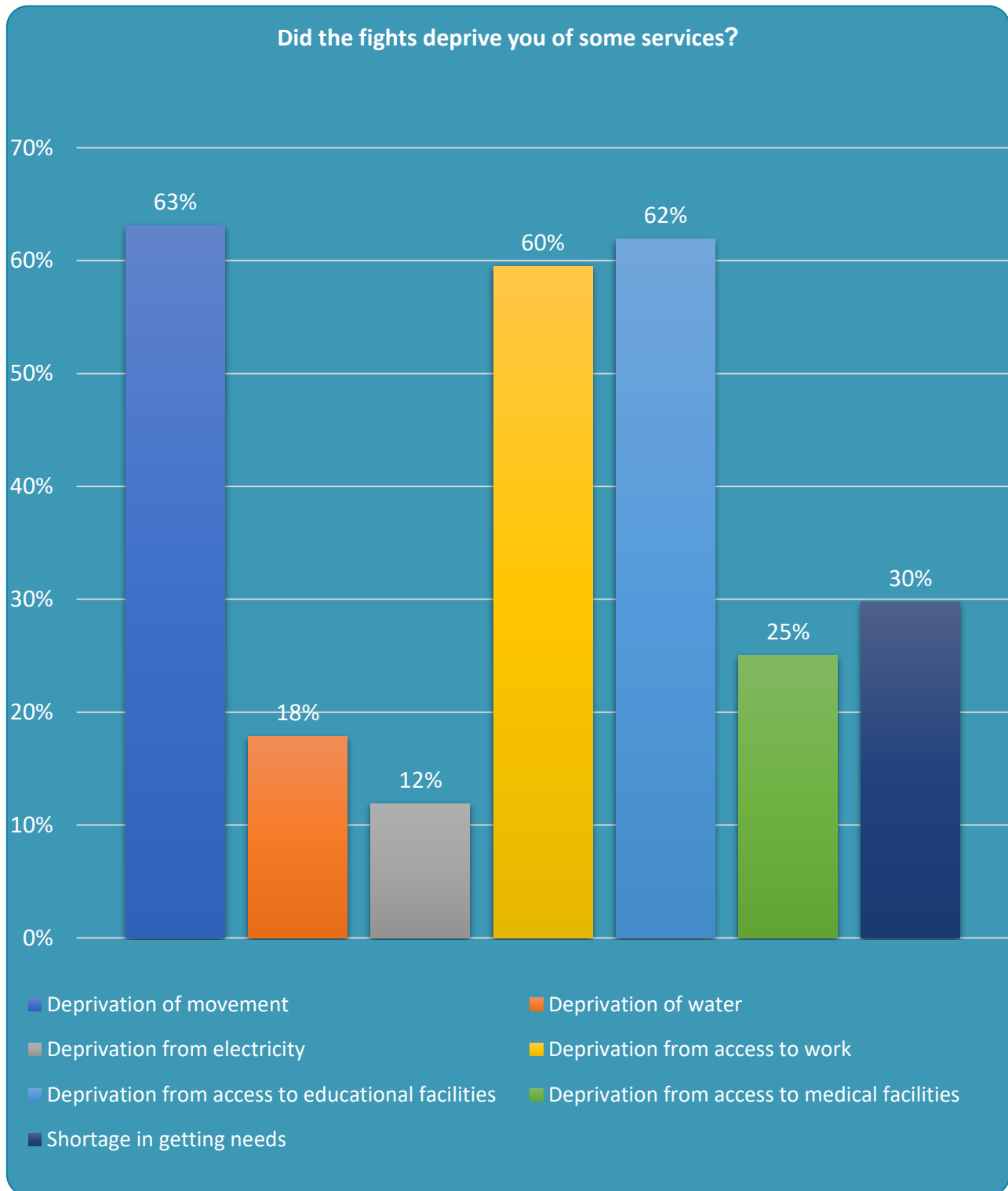


18figure: Recurrence of internal fighting cases

Regarding the negative effects on civilians - especially women - as a result of the fights, approximately 63% indicated that the clashes deprived them of the possibility of movement and access to educational facilities, while 60% answered that the fights deprived them of access to work, and 30% of the responses expressed that the fights deprived them of access to basic needs such as securing food and bread, while 25% of them indicated that the impact of the fights deprived them of access to medical facilities, especially in emergency cases, while 18%



indicated that the fights made access to water very difficult and 12% indicated that the fights made them unable to get electricity services (Figure 19).



19figure: Effect of fights on accessibility to some forms of services.



It is worth noting that one of the women we contacted was suffering from severe medical problems, as the fights caused her a lot of pressure and fear with the appearance of symptoms of premature birth at the end of the seventh month, without complaining about any previous similar problems before the fights. Moreover, there was no possibility to visit a doctor or communicate with the medical clinic she was visiting and this made her use drug available to her to help her relax and relieve stress.

Through polling the opinion of female respondents on the causes of the fights, the majority of the respondents considered that the causes of the fighting were not right and that they erupted for personal ambitions and the desire to settle scores and increase areas of control, while many of the answers agreed that what is happening comes in the context of new arrangements for the region with the aim of preparing it for new scenarios and forcing it to reconcile with the Assad regime.

Many of the responses accused the factions of failing to defend the areas, as these weapons were supposed to be used to protect civilians and prevent their displacement and that these factions act recklessly and insanely without giving importance to their presence among civilians and the possibility of human casualties among them.

Some of the answers considered that it is not possible to push the region to a state of stability without achieving justice and accountability, holding everyone accountable for abuses and corruption, removing military headquarters outside the cities and places where civilians are concentrated, preventing them from interfering in civil administrative matters, and ending the factional situation through the establishment of a single military body that controls all parties and legions.

Many of the respondents expressed their fears about the repercussions of this internal fighting, as it reinforced fears of the idea of losing a family member, or losing job or education opportunities whether for respondents or their children, as some of them expressed their fears of the possibility of roads being cut off or their inability to return home or being subjected to reprisals by the factions that sometimes try to disturb the popular incubator close to the other factions.



Enhancing the security of civilians and women, lessons learned from the event

Many news received from persons close to the factions indicate that these developments and fights did not happen by chance, but were preceded by information received by the factions about the intention of Hay'at Tahrir al-Sham - HTS to enter the area months ago and control it in cooperation with some of the factions in the area, in a scenario similar to the scenario of their control on Idlib region. Therefore, although these fights seem on the surface to be fighting between factions, they were an attempt to redraw the areas of influence and control and to eliminate some influential figures as individuals and factions and to place them under the control of HTS and its project.

Although it is difficult to verify the correctness of these allegations, the speed of HTS movement with the event and the size of the military convoys and the equipment used indicate that HTS was ready and prepared to enter the area, but its inability to resolve the battle quickly and effectively, in addition to the remarkable civil movement that swept the area, expressing its refusal for the entrance of HTS, had a significant impact on changing the equation. And finally the situation was completely settled after the Turkish intervention which forced HTS to hand over its headquarters and withdraw to its positions.

On the other hand, the previous events show the fragility of the security situation and the dependence of some factions on other projects, or the neutrality of others in sensitive problems the matter that poses additional threats to the safety and stability of civilians, especially since these factions have placed their headquarters among civilians, and they did not mind moving the fights inside cities, and some of them - the Hamzah Division - were involved in the bombing of the city of al-Bab, which is crowded with large numbers of displaced and forcibly displaced people.

While the armed groups are supposed to abide by customary humanitarian law, which governs armed conflicts with a set of rules and provisions that aim at limiting the impact of those conflicts and protecting people who are not participating in the fighting, such as civilians, or who are no longer a party to the fighting, such as wounded soldiers, in order to reduce human losses, these principles were not considered during the conflict, but civilians suddenly found themselves forced to witness these military conflicts again and this made some of them flee and hide in caves and orchards while the majority remained stuck in their home unable to get out of it.



On the other hand, women seem to be the weakest segment in the equation as these fights renewed painful memories that they experienced earlier and reinforced their fears of loss, deprivation and a sense of insecurity and stability. However, it is remarkable in the results that we reached that there is a segment of women who did not express any fears or anxiety about these accelerating events, which is not normal in light of renewed violent fights with medium and heavy weapons, and may be a symptom of post-traumatic stress disorder, which may appear in the form of numbness,¹² and this indicates the need to pay more attention to targeted mental health and recovery projects for women.

Additionally, the area lacks safe shelters that can protect civilians during periods of fights, especially women, while the houses, whatever their shape, cannot constitute a safe haven from the shells and remnants of the fights, especially since the houses inhabited by civilians are sometimes incomplete and unbuilt in many cases according to safe engineering standards and this makes them vulnerable to sudden collapse or cracking as a result of projectiles falling in nearby areas.

The results also indicate a high percentage of women that for the head of their families as this segment reached 25% of the sample surveyed, and therefore these families supported by women may be more vulnerable in such situations, which may also affect them in economic terms, losing the opportunity to work or the source of income, which was indicated by many of the answers. This also applies to families in which women provide support to the main breadwinner of the family, but to a lesser extent.

The sudden outbreak of clashes and their rapid development was one of the problems that faced civilians, especially women, as families were not prepared for such event, and some of them did not have enough supplies during this week, and the pace of fights prevented women from moving or accessing medical services.

This incident showed that the region was not prepared to work during emergencies, for example, women in the area did not know whether there were service providers at the time of

¹² Emotional blunting, reduced affect, or decreased expression of emotion: A state of decreased or decreased emotional reaction in an individual. It manifests as a failure to express feelings either verbally or nonverbally, especially when talking about things that emotions would normally be expected to involve. In this case, expressive gestures are rare, and along with few expressions on the face or voice, dullness of emotions can be a symptom of autism, schizophrenia, depression, post-traumatic stress disorder, depersonalization disorder, depersonalization disorder or brain damage. It may also be a side effect of some medications (such as antipsychotics and antidepressants). [Wikipedia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Emotional_blunting)



emergency, such as medical and ambulance services or even relief services, and there was no ability to communicate with regular medical service providers and get remote consultations.

The civil and popular movement has emerged as one of the important and distinctive factors that is supposed to receive a lot of attention, care and organization. The popular movement has put pressure to hold those involved accountable, and put pressure on the factions, embarrassing them and preventing them from accepting the entry of HTS, and indirectly prompting the Turkish government to move to resolve this issue. However, this movement lacked the participation of women, as the security conditions did not allow such participation. Moreover, it is necessary for women's organizations to shed light on women's voices and opinions, using the available tools, especially virtual tools, and to work on their involvement in formulating a local perception of the protection of civilians if such incidents happen again in the future.

Based on what is mentioned above, it seems that the region is not heading towards stability, especially with the uncontrolled factional situation and the presence of Hay'at Tahrir al-Sham with expansion ambitions, and the absence of real support for the establishment of independent civil and judicial institutions capable of managing the region. This means that these fights are expected to occur again in the future for various reasons.

Additionally, The factions that exist in the region doesn't seem to respect international humanitarian law or even Security Council resolutions calling for the neutralization and protection of civilians, especially women and children, or even their involvement in the peace building process, or even their opinions and perceptions on the subject.

Based on the recommendation contained in Resolution no. 1325 on the importance of studying the impact of armed conflict on women and girls and the need to activate the role and presence of women in peace building and conflict resolution processes, we present a set of recommendations:

- 1- Establishing a comprehensive action plan in which women clearly contribute, aiming to enhance the principles of governance in the region, support stability, solve administrative, security and societal problems, and search for effective coordination mechanisms and strategic plans that would provide solutions that reflect the viewpoint of all parties and segments, and strengthen civil authority, its influence and its role in managing the region.



- 2- Establishing an emergency plan, in which all organizations participate, aiming to benefit from previous lessons and fill gaps by preparing shelters designed to protect civilians, and establishing a network of mobile services that operate during emergency periods to provide civilians and women with the required medical and basic needs.
- 3- Work on removing military headquarters from cities and towns to their outskirts, and work on drafting a memorandum of understanding that forces the factions to neutralize civilian areas during military conflicts.
- 4- Work on drawing a map of active and influential women in the region, identifying the available expertise and skills, and assessing the required needs.
- 5- Encouraging the conduct of research and studies that explore women's opinions on the civil administration and development of the region, and reflect their aspirations and perspectives on the peace process and the post-conflict phase.
- 6- Conducting more research and studies that monitor the needs of women in the region in all sectors, such as their needs in the sectors of shelter, education, work, training, health and services, and the involvement of women in designing and planning programs and projects to meet these needs.
- 7- Communicating with the Turkish government, and the authorities concerned with managing the Syrian areas under its supervision, and submit reports on the situation of women and their needs in order to support or develop projects that suit these needs, especially the women form the head of their families.





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